1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

standing the inconvenience of this head-gear, and the ugliness which it causes, it is said to be worn even at night, little pillows being used to support it.

The dress of the peasant women is similar in form, but is invariably made of blue cotton stuffs; the *zikwánkia*, or shirt, is of a darker shade of blue, with white stripes round the bottom, the sleeves being knotted across the breast or shoulder; and a small cap is worn on the head, the hair curling about the face.

Though nominally Moslems, the Kurdish women do not veil themselves very strictly when abroad. In large towns like Solimaniah the ladies wear a blue checked shirt, and a sheet of black horsehair, like the Turkish women of the interior. This is, however, seldom pulled down, except by ladies of the highest rank, who may wish to pass through the streets incognito; and the lower class women generally go about with their faces uncovered. The village women veil themselves when they leave their houses; and the nomads, when on the march, partially screen their faces with a cotton kerchief or scarf. Hence women are not, as with the Turks, excluded from the rooms occupied by the ladies of the house, and male visitors are freely received by the unveiled family.

Notwithstanding, however, this apparent freedom of manners, Kurdish women conduct themselves with the utmost dignity and propriety, displaying neither the timidity common to the Armenians, nor the forwardness too often seen in the behaviour of the Osmanlis. Their standard of morality is, indeed, exceptionally high among the races of the country.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1888) 1891
MA11 Hard MA11

Sultan Murad and Sîsa the Shepherd.[1]

It is well known that the Kîrâ'i had their sheep [179] in Arabia into Syria and Arabia, and even to Constantinople. Once a shepherd named Sîsa, of the tribe of [215] Dere-Sheikhân, led his sheep to Constantinople for [214] sale. His shoulders covered with a goatskin, as is the custom among shepherds, he grazed his sheep in the neighbourhood of the capital.

One day Sultan Murad and his Aide,[2] both disguised as dervishes, were walking in the suburbs, and they came to the spot where Sîsa was with his sheep. Now Sultan Murad had never in his life seen Kîrâ'i, nor shepherds in such a costume. Seeing Sîsa so strangely dressed, the Sultan was astonished, and said to his Aide, "What race of men is this who resemble in no respect the people of Stamboul, with their heads and their eyes covered with goatskins?"

The Aide replied that it was a Kîrâ from Anatolia, who had brought his sheep for sale.

"Let us approach this strange creature," said the Sultan, "and see what manner of man he is."

Then the Sovereign and his Aide in their dervish [179] disguises came up to the shepherd and saluted him.[3] He returned their salutation, saying, "You are welcome, Aide (Sultan) dervishes." The Sultan and the Aide sat down. The shepherd had a pipe with a short stem which he filled and offered to the dervishes, who

[1] Sîsa, Jesus, &c., p. 60.

[2] Name of confidential attendant. The name is also given to a male slave who has the charge of children.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1888) 1891
MA11 Kard MA11

[39] were much surprised by this act of courtesy. He
[39] then said:

"I have bread and milk, and will bring you some."

Sultan Murad wished to decline his offer, saying, "We are not hungry, and have no need of food." But the shepherd insisted upon sharing his bread with them, and quoted to them the Arab proverb: "Whoso visits a living person and eats nothing at his house might as well visit a dead man."

"I am well," he added, "and refuse to be called a dead man, so you must not leave me without breaking bread."

The Sultan was charmed with the shepherd's remark, and accepted his offer of bread and milk. Then undoing the skin bag which hung on his back, took from it a wooden cup, went to milk some of the sheep, and returned, bearing also in his hand a loaf, which he placed before his guests. The Sultan and the Arab ate a little, and the shepherd then asked the dervishes if they lived at Constantinople.

"Yes," replied Sultan Murad, "we belong to the capital. For the love of Allah, shepherd, if thou canst into town come and see us."

The shepherd asked Sultan Murad what was his name and where he might be found.

[39] His Majesty replied that his name was Sultan Murad, and that he lived near the Sultan's palace. "Come to that place," he added, "and there ask for me."

The two dervishes took leave of the shepherd, and

unannounced into the office. He soon reappears and ushers one in to the *qaimmaqam*, and, after greetings and banalities have been exchanged, one is seated. Cigarettes are offered with an invitation to drink a glass of tea or sherbet. The servant is summoned to fetch these last, and the opening has been completed. Throughout the interview there is a constant coming and going. The servant returns with refreshments and the names of others. New visitors are ushered in, seated or left standing, and dealt with in the order of their importance. The telephone rings: a *mutir* feels lonely and has found some problem for superior comment, amid a great deal of irrelevance. The chief clerk glides in noiselessly with documents requiring immediate signature. This office, unlike those of others of the *qaimmaqam*'s staff, is a place of interminable interruption, for everyone, great or small, with a position to, if not personally, then through the offices of some more commanding personage, to lay his case before Caesar.

Some of the *qaimmaqam*'s more specialized duties have already been seen, such as the transfer of convicts to and from the Iranian authorities, and the execution of tribal law. First and foremost, however, the *qaimmaqam* must supervise and coordinate the activities of the *mutirs* and *nahia* officials, for problems too difficult for them or beyond the range of their powers are passed to his hands. It has been noticed that a *mutir* is given considerable local power, but because the *qaimmaqam* is responsible not only for the

grievances of the former and exploiting and facilitating the operations of the latter. He is called upon to certify certain government documents, such as an order for a young man's conscription, together with two chosen old men who act as witnesses. Ba'af Effendi claimed to be assisted by two informal "agents" who brought him secretly the news circulating in the town, probably his own device for keeping in regular touch with popular opinion. Socially the office of mukhtar presupposes a qualification of wealth, for he is expected to maintain a diwaniyya in room in his house in which guests of social distinction could be appropriately received and entertained. Although Ramadan itself is non-tribal and the people as a whole pay no allegiance to a chieftain, it will be seen in comparison with later appointees that the mukhtar, with numerous other wealthy men, occupies a position in society analogous to that of an aristocrat. In fact, a girl, instigated by her relatives in a love affair, may seek sanctuary in the house of the mukhtar, a custom which is solely reserved for chieftains in the countryside. Such a case occurred in 1949 and Ba'af Effendi was able to smooth over the affair, arranging the girl's marriage with the youth in question.

In closing this section it remains to contrast the present administration of the district with that of the Ottoman Empire immediately prior to the First World War. In that time Ramadan was the seat in part of a mutasarrifiyya under the distant sanjaq of the vilayet of Mosul. Administratively it was thought as important as Erbil and, as

require detailed description, but it is possible to present here an idea of the typical merchant's establishment, as many of them are almost identical. This is a three-sided room, open to the street on the fourth, with a width of six to eight feet and a depth which may vary from ten to twenty, although some are much smaller and a few larger than these dimensions. The floor, raised about a foot above the level of the street, is of tamped earth and may have a carpet or mat spread over it. Some establishments have glass cases for the display of merchandise, but it is most often spread out on the floor, hung from walls or piled against the walls. The shopkeeper usually has several wooden stools at his disposal, one for his own use and others for the accommodation of more important customers and visitors. In the event of such a visit cigarettes are offered and tea brought from a nearby chaikhana. Most merchants have a weekly account with the chaikhana-owner, the latter keeping the tally and presenting his bill. Many are assisted by a youngster, often a son or a daughter, who runs errands, delivers purchases to the employment within hearing, and watches the shop whenever the owner is away. At night the shops are closed with large wooden shutters, mostly made from packing cases and often displaying stencils such as "Pringle" or "Basra Import Company," and are padlocked.

During most of the year the merchant opens his shop at seven or eight o'clock in the morning, and closes it for an afternoon rest at noon. He reopens at three or four

and another on the electric light bulb suspended from the ceiling by a string.

The maintenance of a *chaikhana* can be a fairly lucrative business, for it plays an important part in the social life of the lower classes. In the absence of any other entertainment, there is almost always a large number of persons in the *chaikhana*, merchants, workmen, soldiers and policemen off duty, and lawless. The *chaikhana*, however, is definitely limited to the lower echelons of society. One of the higher ranking officials, for example, the *qaimmaqam* or the judge, would never be seen in such a place, nor would his army officers. The visiting line is to be found in the teahouse, who sometimes visit in pairs or groups, but prefer the term "club" because it has none of the stigma attached to the tea-shop. The landed aristocrats, the chieftains, are not bound by the scruples of officials or officers, but tend to avoid the places. The reason is clear and explicit. A man of the higher echelons of society is expected to entertain a *chaikhana* or guest-room in his home where he can entertain, and to be entertained in the houses of his friends, rather than purchase his refreshment in common with others. Similarly, a man of some standing in the community who spends much of his time in *chaikhanas* will quickly acquire the reputation of a lawless. Finally, as mentioned men from the army are to be found there on furlough, there is talk that these places harbor homosexuals (*kaile ba*, "homosexual," is a formidable term of abuse, an epithet which

gone the years without reference to any plan, surrounding a sort of courtyard. In addition to a row of single rooms opening on the court, it shelters some shops and storerooms. The principal merchant who uses it as a place of business is a Mwiterian who lives in Ngozo and who, in addition to other enterprises, monopolizes the profitable supply of bottled beer and extract to the civil servants and officers. He comes to Kamembe only two or three times each week, and, during Ramadan, when drinking of alcoholic beverages is forbidden by most, keeps away entirely. The hotel itself offers the smallest little more than a room and a bedstead. He is expected to furnish his own bedding, and to find entertainment as best he can. The "hotel," in brief, is little more than "a roof overhead and leaky existence within," in this, a modern descendant of the *khan* or *funduq* of Mediaeval days, so often described and so often cursed by travelers of that era.[1] Visiting government employees normally find accommodations with one of the local civil servants, army officers seek the barracks in the valley and Kamembe, as well as Mwiterians, who must spend a night in the town can find free lodgings and meals at the great house of Sama'ili Nag. It follows that the *khan* is little used, and its few occupants are usually commercial travelers from Kybil or beyond, too low in social status to apply to the civil servants and too timid to avail themselves of Kamembe hospitality.

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[1] Maunier, 1951, pp. 133-134.

construction in the valley. The other is the property of Lali Khan, head of the House of Isam'il Beg, and is more regularly used to transport merchandise from Erbil. In addition, there is a bus service between the town and the city with two decrepit British station wagons serving as vehicles. When the first of these was put in service some years ago, it was known as bus to the townspeople, but when the second appeared it was personified as Baba Bus, "Father Bus," and the second, Kurri Bus, "Son of Bus." These vehicles make the trip twice or three times each week, departing from the square near the great mosque early in the morning, their roofs piled high with luggage, and, by the time Shaqlawa is reached, the interior crammed with passengers. They are owned in Erbil, however, and their drivers live in that city.

The garage is to be found across from the great mosque, and consists of an enclosed courtyard. In a locked storeroom opening on the yard there is a supply of gasoline for sale in five-gallon tins. The garage is operated by a merchant hired by Lali Khan, its owner, and her lorry is usually parked in its courtyard. It should be noticed that aside from those of the government and the two privately-owned lorries, no other vehicles are permanently at the town. Taxis, hired by chieftains or wealthy persons, arrive frequently, but they are almost all derived from Erbil. Sayyid Ahmed of Barzan, one of the sons of the famous Shaykh Taha, regularly arrived to visit the House of

Ismail Beg in a taxi, accompanied by two or three heavily-armed bodyguards. 574

A comparatively large group of men in the town are casually employed as laborers or porters. It has already been noticed that a number work for the government on road repair, and others are called for a variety of situations, for example, by a mason who found himself short of help. Some are of higher social rank than their fellows, such as Anwar Salah, the son of a "respectable" craftsman, who acted as a foreman over the roadworkers, and was probably hired not because of skill but because he commanded the respect of the workers and could thus effectively transmit the desires of the engineers. Aside from this, the occupations of laborer and porter are more or less interchangeable, and a number work in the bazar carrying goods for the merchants and craftsmen. Among the upper class families of Iraq, particularly those of Ottoman heritage, it is socially forbidden for an educated man to carry anything of weight in public. Those who violate this prohibition are held to be either mad or, more importantly, not real gentlemen. Any government official who desires anything large moved from one place to another must have recourse to a servant or porter. In addition to the professionals, adult men, the shopkeepers' youngsters have been mentioned in employment with these tasks, and any visitor of higher social standing to the bazar quickly finds himself accompanied by one or more. 464 482 482 554 [183] 464 957 482

its imprint the so-called "Hand of Fatima" (referred, almost certainly ex post facto, to the daughter of the Prophet), a symbol found in almost all parts of the Middle East, particularly in amulet jewelry. The same sacrifice is applied to new additions to the house, and, in case a new storey has been built, the throat of the animal is slit over a window sill. It will be seen that when a bride enters her new home, an animal is similarly slaughtered before the threshold and the maiden's sandal is dipped in its blood. It is an incredible breach of etiquette, if not criminal, to enter a house without announcing oneself, a usage which is supposed to have an origin in the life of the Prophet, and custom demands that the visitor knock and wait outside until ushered in. The door is usually left ajar during the day, but anyone save members of the immediate family are prohibited from entrance until permission is given.

Water flows past the houses in narrow ditches beside the streets, and is conducted to an interior basin by means of a pipe. Every larger house has somewhere, typically in the vestibule of the front door, a huge earthen jar for drinking water with a capacity of twenty or thirty gallons which is filled whenever necessary. This jar, held a few feet off the ground in an iron or wooden frame, has a porous bottom through which the liquid is filtered, dripping slowly into a second receptacle beneath it, and, by reason of evaporation, the filtered water is cooled to

ant invariable. The water-jug, with a glass tumbler turned down over its mouth, always stands beside the door.

During the heat of summer, almost all of the families of the town, rich and poor alike, sleep on their roofs, and the bedsteads and bedding are moved there for a time. Again, because of the necessity of sheltering the women from the gaze of outsiders, windbreaks of oak branches and brush are built up if the house itself does not afford suitable protection. Mosquito netting, the same material used in some of the garments of a bride and obtained from the cloth-sellers, is not used indoors, except to cover an infant's cradle, but is many times placed over the beds on the roof. In the wealthier homes everyone has an individual bed, while in those poorer the children sleep together in a tangle of blankets and quilts. Where a house contains more than a single couple, there is a necessary division of its sleeping quarters, because two couples do not customarily rest in the same room nor should a couple occupy one with a male relative, an uncle or a brother. As a general rule, it might be stated that a woman never sleeps in the same room with any man other than her father, her brothers, her husband, and her sons. On the other hand, there seems to be little effort made to conceal sexual intercourse from the children, who, however, are either too sleepy or too well aware of it to find it of much interest.

The diwakhana or guest-room is mandatory for anyone of social pretension and is found in most cases on the first

floor, although that of Lali Khan is located in a second storey. This room, better decorated and maintained than others, is used for the entertainment of male visitors to the house and a more family gathering. Its furniture may consist of benches and chairs, or, in the older style, covered mattresses on the floor on which the guests sit cross-legged. The floors are usually covered with carpets, the best the house can afford, and decorations may include a few photographs, and, in their season, bowls of flowers. A number of prized possessions, such as a set of glass tumblers or a clock are on display. Photographs, taken on special occasions over the years, are kept with great care and displayed to visitors with pride, particularly if the owner has been portrayed with one or more notables, officials or chieftains. Several families have old box cameras and some film is available with the general merchants, but developing and printing must be done in Erbil. In lieu of banquets, not regularly held, visitors are served a variety of things one after the other of which the staples are tea, coffee, or sherbet. That coffee is not served in the Shirkhana has been noticed, but it appears, as well as hot chocolate (prepared, however, in the same way as coffee, with water rather than milk), with some frequency in the guest-rooms. These refreshments are brought in rapid succession. In the diwankhana of Lali Khan tea, water, coffee, fresh grape juice, more tea, and sherbet, as well as apricots and mulberries, were served in a matter of about fifteen minutes.

fifteen minutes. Refreshments are prepared by the women and are carried in by a male servant or one of the children, a young woman, either of the family or a servant, never enters the guest-room, particularly in the presence of a plurality of male guests, but older women, if the mistresses of the house and of aristocratic lineage, may enter and chat with the visitors. The investigator was entertained by Lail Khas and Bayle Anise, the Turkish wife of Shaalr Effendi, both unveiled and neither of European education or inclination. Visiting women, almost always married and related in some way to the house, are entertained in the sleeping rooms or in the courtyard at large, for some confusion might obtain in the [illegible] if the house-owner and a male guest should suddenly appear. Finally, this room is infrequently used for mixed family gatherings, say, the visit of an uncle, in which men, women, and children take part.

In this connection it is convenient to mention the garden, because, wholly aside from whatever productive value they might possess, they are used, just as the guest-room, for the reception of visitors in summer. It is the desire of every householder, as an American might plan a study, a recreation room, or, indeed, the same thing, to have one on his property. A "garden" need not refer to beds of flowers or vegetables, but rather to a secluded, grassy plot shaded by trees, and the intense romantic attachment of the Kurd, or of almost anyone in the Middle East, to these places is defined with difficulty, a sentiment by no means confined to the intellectual or the wealthy,

not found just as strongly in the illiterate Ba'lîs peasant of contemporary Egypt as in a Medieval Persian poet. In Ramadan all of the wealthier homes have their gardens, surrounded by high fences, with a number of trees, willows and those bearing fruit, for shade, and, if there are servants to cultivate them, some plots of vegetables off to one side. In summer it is customary to set out a number of wooden benches and chairs, and guests can be entertained with the addition of fruit-piled fruits to the usual beverages. By popular admission, the most spectacular garden near Ramadan is that of Hajji Muhammad 'Ali Agha of Fidîan, whose house is built over the course of an icy mountain spring. This stream flows in a masonry channel through the plot itself. The ugly tomato fruits chilled in the water and the pleasant sound of the swiftly running brook together with the usual shade trees, carpets, and benches. Gardens are seasonally used to a much greater extent by the family as a whole than the guest-room, and children of the house, in addition to playing there, are held responsible for keeping birds and stray goats from the ripening fruits and vegetables. It follows that the youngsters, as might be expected, make much greater inroads on the produce than those they are set to guard against.

Aside from a few rooms devoted to storage, as of firewood, it remains to take account of the kitchen, always to be found on the first floor and more or less open to the courtyard, inasmuch as chimneys are unknown or

served alone and the diner was dig aloue of remember to 252
the dish. Fruits appear only in their seasons, for there 262
are no means of preserving them, and have little other [101]
preparation than sprinkling in cold water. Apples boiled
with sugar, stewed pears, are considered a delicacy.

If the hermagan, tea is prepared in the home three 272
times each day, and is either brewed in a samovar or, more [103]
simply, boiled in an open pot. The service, in small
glasses partially filled with sugar, has been noted. There
are several ways of brewing tea, and one example is that
in which a tiny piece of crystallized lemon, limon hamd- [103]
in placed in the glass, giving the liquid a citrus flavour.
Coffee or hot chocolate are not made regularly in the [274]●
household, and are reserved for guests. The coffee, of
the pulverized "Turkish" variety, is mixed with boiling [261]
water, in which a cardamom seed may have been placed for
aromatic taste, in the measure of one teaspoon of coffee
and one of sugar for each cup desired, and is served in
small demi-tasses as a thick, granular syrup. Sherbet
consists of a spoonful or two of fruit extract, although
some of it is said to be derived from flowers, mixed in a
tumbler with water and mountain snow. Fresh grape juice is
also found in the summer. Yaghey, curdled milk thinned with [253]
water, is drunk throughout the year, but plain milk, save
in the case of infants whose mothers are unable to feed
them, has very little use, perhaps from fear of catching
fever.

The diet of the civil officials and their families 262

[273]

[765]
[764]

[781]

[774]

[264]

[695]

[782]

[574]

[illegible] serving in order, causes the liquid to become milky in colour. A necessary accompaniment is the [illegible] from a local work, universal with the liquor which consists of a large variety of small dishes to be eaten while drinking, ranging from nuts and cucumbers to cold chicken and grilled meat. The red wine of the Peninsulares is not used by the officials and officers. Most of them, as a concession to Inca, [illegible] Peninsulares during Summer, but the remaining months of the year offer no such obstacle. These gatherings, of which gambling is the prominent diversion, will be met again.

In the household the service of food depends for its character on whether or not guests are present. If members of the family are alone, they eat together, men, women and children, seated on the floor, or, in a few cases, at a table. The place of eating varies somewhat, one can in the kitchen itself, a neighboring sleeping-room, the [illegible], or the courtyard. The food is served in large dishes by the women and these are placed in the center of the gathering. Often silverware and plates are used, and otherwise, only the fingers and a piece of bread. There appears to be little correspondence with social status among the family in this matter, although the poor always eat with their hands. The head of the house takes the first bite, saying as he does so, [illegible], "In the name of God," and others follow him. The servants have their meal after the family is finished. In a family gathering of a larger size, in which men and

women are still intermingled, the party splits into two parts, one surrounding the father and the other, his wife. Thus there are male guests formally invited, the women are children from eight and the food is served in a great array in the guest-room by male servants or children. The usual practice is for the guests to eat quietly, squatting around a table in the *divankhana* or a room neighbouring the kitchen. It may be supposed that the older usage of sitting on the floor and taking greater intimacy with the meal, still to be found, was once more widespread. In this connection, one might note that squatting on the benches is used only by the lower classes, while sitting in a chair or cross-legged on the floor is customary for those of higher social status. As elsewhere in the Islamic world, to sit with legs outstretched in front of one is considered the height of boorishness. The etiquette of dining, although far less detailed, is not greatly different from our own, and it is considered impolite to eat too ravenously, to serve oneself as outsize portion, to belch, and the like.

The native dress of the Kurds is extremely colourful, in contrast to that of many of their contemporaries in the Middle East, who make greater use of brighter hue and strong contrasts than the subdued tones and darker shades encountered elsewhere. In discussing this subject, three types of clothing, often interwingled in the same costume, can be distinguished, that which is typically Kurdish, that which is Arabic, specifically from southern

The heads of the men are not shaven, but the hair is 102
cropped close to the skull by the barber, a treasure resembling that of a European or American army recruit. The face is shaven clean, save the mustache which has great social significance as a sign of masculinity. A man without some sort of stubble on his upper lip is in danger of being reputed "not quite a man" among both the men and, more injurious to vanity, the women. Indeed, the mustache, through an unascertainable cultural process, has come to be a necessary attribute of virile beauty, and a person with a luxuriant growth, though destitute of other physical qualities, may be regarded as handsome by the women. Even officials and officers, who often wear their hair long, do not shave the upper lip. A full beard is worn by only 102
a few elderly men in the town, and is interpreted as a sign of both age and piety. Never, in recent years, is the beard, when white or gray, stained with henna, and this usage, ordinary in southern Iraq, is vilified as [102]
"Persian" and "Shiite" with the greatest of scorn. Women are also supposed to shave the hair under the arms and around the genitals, although it is again difficult to say to what extent the custom is followed, for it is a [134]
great disgrace for a man to be seen naked by others. Except for the cologne of the barber, men do not use cosmetics or perfumes. In this connection, however, one might mention the usage, in spring, of inhaling the 517
fragrance of cut blossoms. Characteristically, a host 124
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still offer a flower to a guest and the latter is expected to enjoy it for a short time by holding it to his nostrils while passing it to another. Young Kurdish dandies, out, however, in Ramandan, hold flowers to their noses on the streets of Baghdad or Mosul to circumvent the smells of the metropolis. Perfume of any sort, probably because of its association with women, is abhorrent to Muslim puritans, of whom there are a few in the town, and they avoid it with violent gestures and exclamations.

Because the ablutions before prayers, with some reservation, apply to Muslims of both sexes, it is equally difficult to obtain an exact idea of the bathing habits of the townswomen. Unmarried girls are supposed to wash themselves completely twice or three times each week during the summer and once or twice each fortnight in colder weather. All of the hair of a woman's body must be removed: the pubic hair with a razor, that under the arms with the fingers, and the rest with a depilatory concocted of sugar and gum arabic. In addition, the ankles and feet are rubbed with a small piece of black stone. Both men and women clean the teeth with their fingers, pieces of rag, or European toothbrushes. The hair of a woman's head, on the other hand, is almost never cut or trimmed, and its length and richness are thought to be outstanding attributes of feminine beauty. Whenever two women quarrel, one often cries out "your hair will be cut," a promise of great catastrophe for her opponent.

to the guest either, and even to those places who feels for them enough to continue of any class of society, it remains the symbol among those of the aristocracy. If the daughter of a commoner runs away, he may be unable or unwilling to do anything about it, but a chieftain, as the personification of his people's honor, is more or less bound to exact justice. Thus to outrage the integrity of a noblewoman can also result in violence.

Finally, hospitality is a necessary concomitant of a chieftain's house, and an ideal of all. "To be a chieftain," it was said, "a man must belong to a noble house, must be followed by armed men, and must have a guest-room." Even the aristocratic houses maintain *kiwaishoya* which vary considerably in size and form according to their owners. In some cases it is only a few rooms within the house and in others a separate building. Some chieftains have large tents pitched as guest-rooms in the summer. In Furukotoge and service the aristocratic guest-room does not differ from that described in the preceding section, and the distinction between it and the *kiwaishoya* of, say, a wealthy merchant, is that it must always be open to strangers, no matter what their station in life. Strictly speaking, the rule of hospitality applies to any Ainuish house, but, outside of emergencies, its usual application is among the aristocrats. One of the functional aspects of the support of the chieftainship appears here. A poor villager cannot entertain a stranger in sumptuous fashion,

and for this reason he is glad to give a share of his profits, if only that his sister, the symbol of the group, can show hospitality, which is, in fact, that of the poor village himself. These extraordinary guest-rooms, in addition to providing food and shelter for whoever seeks them, are used to some extent as a clubhouse for the men, and a visitor, Christmas or Easter, may appear during the day for tea, tobacco, and the latest gossip. The chieftains themselves use them for sleep, in want of a better term, might be called their "courts," where they entertain friends and visitors, hear the complaints and news of their people, and direct their various activities. The etiquette of entering such a guest-room is exactly like that described above for a chaikhana, or tea-shop, and the activity is much the same, talking and smoking, although the atmosphere is more solemn and the refreshments gratis. As in the case of the open hospice, a stranger may enjoy hospitality unchallenged for three days, and after this period the chieftain, while he does not send the away, may ask his name and his errand. Questioning the hospitality of a chieftain, which constitutes a reflection on his people, is an extremely grave insult, and may also provide the basis of a feud. Thus visitors in a remote district must avail themselves of the chieftain's guest-room, for, if they do not, it may be thought an insult is intended. Speaking of a party of strangers in the Bavelnat country, a Kurd said, "It is necessary for them

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[578]

to let Saddam Hag know of their grievance and visit his Kurmanjo, or he will think they look down on his hospitality, or, worse, do not know him or recognize him as a chieftain."

Save for the question of hospitality, it may be seen from the section on administration that the government takes a strong interest in chieftains' activities. The state lays claim to all unregistered land, mulkiya, which includes a large amount of "tribal" and village territory, and would prefer to collect taxes directly from the peasants, thus cutting off the most important source of aristocratic revenue. Some of the chieftains, element of the times, have attempted to have tribal lands registered in their own names. The execution of the law belongs to the government, either the civil code of the judge or the tribal code of the aslamagas. Vengeance is also of the state, and homicides are to be handled by the police and the courts, rather than the vendetta. Safeguard and monetary in a well-policed district are thought to be unnecessary. Modern Iraq is in concept democratic, and such titles as aghe, beg, or shaikh, while they are widely used, do not enjoy the sanction of law. The army and the constabulary are thought adequate to handle military exigencies, and the arming of a populace, particularly bands of bodyguards, is considered superfluous, if not dangerous. Thus the Kurdish aristocracy has lost many of its important functions and perogatives. They are no longer leaders in war or administrators, and much of their

pastimes, alcoholic beverages, and light refreshments, such as nuts, bread, and grilled meat. Activity begins at four or five in the afternoon, and, should a card party be in session, may remain open into the early hours of the morning. The rooms and gardens are illuminated with lanterns, and at times an official or officer will lead a battery-operated radio for entertainment. Aside from gambling, however, the principle diversion is conversation, the men seating themselves in little groups according to their preferences. The conversationalists usually depart for their homes between nine and ten o'clock in the evening, one of the servants often accompanying them through the darkened streets with a lantern. Although not ordinarily members, persons of the aristocratic Turkish class sometimes appear in the club, sitting by themselves or with some official of their acquaintance. It has been related how Seyyid Ahmed and Sarim Agha were visitors in the course of an evening, but such appearances are by no means common, nor do the aristocrats indulge in gambling. As has been said, the officials and officers, unless they are Turks, do not visit the houses of chieftains. No women is ever seen in the club.

Aside from the month of Ramadan, during which much assume the appearance of piety, the chief entertainments of the higher officials and officers are drinking and gambling. The drinking-party has been described in a previous section, and is usually associated with a game of cards.

of suits. The game itself is surveying, as well as the particular form, games of the type called "five-card stud" is meeting, one card dealt downward to the player and the other four up. The usual amount of an individual wager is 50 fils [about $0.16], and, in a party of eight players, a typical "pot" contains as much as two dinars [$5.60]. Inasmuch as the salary of any official or officer is not large, it follows that an unskilful person can lose money in one sitting.[1] The gambling debt is becoming a feature of life for the official class in Iraq. Most of the players, however, are familiar with each other, and it need not be suggested that the Arabs, however one is apt to view them, are unskilled in the subtleties of card-games. The games are held either in the mafil or in the home of the policeman, and others attend not solely to play, but to relax and to hold conversation. In addition, the officers play a form of "bingo" for small stakes in their mess, and one or two of them often arrange a cock fight, either of a pair of roosters or of chikor, the mountain partridge, on which there is heavy betting.

The official class, the upper stratum in the second system, differs significantly from its parallel in the

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[1] The salary of a typical mutig, the administrative official of a nahiya, the smallest unit, is about twenty dinars [$56.00] per month and 240 dinars [$672.00] per year. This is about the same income as that of the merchant Fatah-Allah, mentioned above. The mutig, however, is given free quarters and other allowances, and receives an increase in pay every three years until he reaches the rank of a policeman. It can be seen how such an official feels that he cannot immediately afford marriage.

first in the matter of hospitality. For both aristocrats and commoners of the first system, the doors of the house are theoretically always open to guests or travelers, no matter what the station in society of either host or visitor. Thus, a peasant or a shepherd is considered to have evidence of higher rank in his home, and what little he possesses in the way of food, drink, and shelter is willingly offered. Conversely, no person of the lower classes is disturbed by dwelling himself of the hospitality of a chieftain, although, of course, he does not expect the ceremony expended on a superior. This is by no means unique to Kurdistan, but can be discovered in almost any rural area of the Middle East. For officials and officers the situation is somewhat different, because they are forcefully governed by a principle of resignation, a matter of personal honor, in effect that a man cannot accept the hospitality of another unless he can return it in kind. To give one of a large number of illustrations, a party was given by the governor of Ravendale, attended only by five other men of the town who were possessed of the means to entertain the governor in a similar fashion. The governor had asked a minor official, and, when this person failed to appear, went to the extent of sending his automobile after him. When the official in question finally arrived, he made a hurried excuse, "the illness of his wife," and again departed. The reason, clear to all those present, was that his meager salary did not permit him to accept the governor's

politeness, because he could not repay it. This minor official was not a subordinate of the governor. In consequence this principle operates to limit visiting among officials of different rank, although the matter is partially solved by the club and the prisoners. The latter simply ordain the attendance of those of the subordinates to whom payment of a gathering, and they are then able to attend without inconvenience to their labor. Generally speaking, the official class of the town has three aliquots, those persons who can afford gambling and drinking and who are interested in those pastimes, those who have the money but are not interested, and those whose pay does not permit them such luxuries. This last group is largely made up of teachers who have gatherings of their own, visiting in each other's rooms and exchanging meals. The prisoners and other high officials are sensitive to the financial difficulties of the teachers, and do not include them in their invitations or "orders" for an evening's entertainment.

Two demands of etiquette, although they may occasionally be observed in all ranks of society in the town, are to be found in a heightened form in the behavior of members of the official class. The first of these is that it is considered impolite to admire too vociferously anything belonging to another. In the case of children or houses, the rationalization is that this will bring catastrophe to the admired object, because such remarks are unwittingly conceal the malice of the evil eye, or

uncle (mam) loves the children of his brother as much as his own. If he has daughters, he gives them to his brother's sons as wives. If he is rich, he looks after his nephews and nieces, sending them clothing and money, and supporting the boys in school. If his brother dies, he takes the survivors of the deceased into his own house. When he comes for a visit, he brings gifts for the children. They crowd, gathering around him, and the latter are placed on his knees." As in the case of the father and grandfather, boys and girls are expected to stand in the presence of the uncle. The maternal uncle (dai) is a much rarer visitor to the house, although he is also a potential parent-in-law and guardian. "Sometimes the maternal uncle does not like his sister's husband or her children." In the absence of relatives on the paternal side, a widow may apply to her brother for help. The paternal and maternal uncle (ulu) are much more frequent visitors if they do not live within the house itself. Relations with them do not require any extraordinary deferential conduct. The wives of the paternal and maternal uncles, if they are not consanguineal relatives, are treated with greater reserve. Visits are not ordinarily exchanged between a man and his maternal relatives except on infrequent occasions. When a paternal uncle, his wife, or a paternal aunt arrive, they are taken into the bosom of the family. In contrast, the maternal uncle or an unrelated husband of the paternal aunt are usually entertained in the <u>fiveshhhh</u>

r guest-room, apart from all of the women of the house. 604 574 593

The eldest brother occupies a position over his brothers and sisters analogous to that of the father. He shares to some extent in the parental authority and is responsible for the house when the father is absent. Often he is entrusted with money from which he gives his younger brothers their *roshana*, "daily allowance," a sum which increases in size with their years. The children are taught [454] to save this money in a box, and whenever the eldest brother makes a journey to Erbil or a similar place he takes their savings and purchases them something they desire. Like that of the father, his word is law and all of his directions must be carried out by those junior to him without altercation. Whenever he enters the room, the younger children are supposed to stand, although this is not invariably done. If the eldest of the children [562] is a girl, she has much the same authority as a boy, without, however, the formalities mentioned above. She is usually the chief helper of her mother in housework and the care of the younger children. In several families observed in which the eldest was a girl, the brothers disobeyed or teased her only at the risk of being punished. There seems to be little of a hierarchy among the younger brothers and sisters, and it cannot be said, as it sometimes is in America, that the youngest is the darling of the family, save in the case in which he is the first boy. 593 554 577 The boys learn very early to be jealous of their sisters' honor, not only in protecting them in the usual quarrels

of childhood, but in later life. If a woman is returned for some reason to her parental home, it is as much a reflection on her brothers as on herself.

In all of the situations outlined thus far there has been no question of the veil, except for a maternal uncle and a husband of a paternal aunt who are not permitted to associate freely with all of the women of the house unless they happen to be close friends of its master. The veil enters in between cousins of marriageable age, and the striking difference between a married man and a bachelor is encountered for the first time. When a young man reaches what is considered adulthood, about fifteen or sixteen years, women of other houses begin to conceal their faces from him. If, for example, he visited the house of his father's brother, the latter's wife might appear unveiled to him, but the adult, unmarried daughters of the house would be at least shy and retiring in his presence, usually fleeing at his approach (not, however, losing the opportunity to observe the potential bridegroom from hiding). When he is married, the whole situation changes and he is free to mingle with them unveiled, even alone together in a room. There are, of course, some of these restrictions among male cousins and among female cousins. Two youths who are cousins greet each other by shaking hands or kissing each other on the cheek. It is said that a young man could greet the daughter of his paternal uncle by kissing her on the arm or shoulder, but [514]

wealthy sponsor in a room outfitted with beds and mattresses on which they are told to rest. Their mothers and other female relatives supervise them, and have a gathering of their own in one of the sleeping rooms. In the guest-room a large congregation of men, the fathers, relatives, and friends assembles. The mulla is summoned, and recites from the Quran. Another room is appointed for the operation itself, and in it the barber or darvish, several of the men, and the father of the boy being circumcised at the time take their stations. It might be noted that the boys, segregated in their room, are in a state of considerable trepidation, for they have not been informed what this festive and, at the same time, solemn occasion portends for them. A boy is led alone into the room of the operation and seated on a chair, his father standing next to him. The barber or darvish kneels before him, concealing the knife, and the foreskin is cut, theoretically before the child is aware of what has happened. At the same time a lump of sugar is placed in his mouth to prevent an outcry. The wound is quickly bound with a cloth bandage, and the boy is returned to his fellows. The barber or darvish usually accompanies his movements by muttering religious formulae of his own choosing or invention.

When all have been circumcised, they are allowed to rest and are visited by their fathers and mothers who congratulate them on their bravery. Meanwhile a great celebration ensues for the adults, separate banquets for

the two groups, and dancing in the courtyard or before the house for both sexes. The host pays the barber or dervish, the mulla, and the musicians during the meal, and their return can be extremely large ("as much as a hundred dinars," or $280.00). The surgeon returns to examine the wounds and to redress them later in the day. In some cases there is a parade through the streets prior to the operation, the son of the host seated on a donkey surrounded by a crowd made up of the other boys, the barber, and others. As can be seen, this event makes a tremendous impression on the juvenile mind, and is characteristically painful. Boys who have undergone circumcision wear a dishdasha or cassock, and may be seen holding it out in front of them to avoid touching the sensitive wound. Clitorectomy is never practiced, and is spoken of by the townspeople as a "Shiite" or "Persian" abomination.

Children enjoy a relatively untroubled childhood, gradually called away from it in adolescence by the demands of further education, their fathers' trades, or marriage. Boys and girls of the town may mingle freely until the veil separates them at the age of fifteen or sixteen, and the democracy of youthful associations, sons and daughters of all classes of society meeting together, has already been noticed. The boys and girls, however, separate into two groups even before the segregation of adolescence takes place. One of the most popular sports of the boys is a mock war in which commanders are selected by the

are often surrealistic. These matters, however repetitious, 521 [528]
are one of the most popular forms of masculine entertainment.

Conversation is also the principal source of amusement for the women, although, in the case of women of the upper classes, wives of the wealthier townsmen, the chieftains, and the government elite, it is confined to the privacy of their homes. Women of the lower classes gossip freely with one another on the streets or within the women's mosque. Unlike to men, among whom it commands primary interest, a discussion of politics holds little for a woman, and they are occupied with matters which seem to have greater immediate importance, the many topics of gossip which can arise in a small town. Visiting, as previously 574
noticed, is for both sexes an everyday diversion, accompanied either with refreshments or a formal banquet, but 527
public festivals, with music and dancing, provide throughout the year the only outstanding entertainment known by all the townspeople. Those which are held in connection with a birth, a circumcision, or a wedding can occur at any season. The religious feasts, Jejeni Ramazan and Jejeni Kurban, are determined by the lunar calendar and 796 527
take place at a different time, several weeks earlier, each year. The Syreg festivals always come in the spring, and, although they are nominally secular, their obvious sacred origin hasled one to discuss them with religious life.

appears, and, although elaborately printed calendars of the month offering astronomical data are sent out to the villages and towns by pious persons of wealth or commercial establishments in Baghdad, the townspeople prefer the evidence of their own eyes. One is supposed to fast, taking neither food nor water, from that time in the early morning when the colours of a black and white thread can be discerned until the moon is perceptible in the evening. On a hill above the town an old iron cannon, said to have belonged to Nor Pasha, is half-buried in the dirt, and its muzzle, pointing out into the valley, is tied between two short poles. For some weeks previous to the first evening of this month, the barber and dervish, Hajji Mustafa, had collected a great quantity of rags and taken charge of a donation of black gunpowder. On the eve a large crowd of children gathered on the hill near the gun, and cheered and sung while Hajji Mustafa cavorted before them, loading the necessary powder and a charge of rags. When he received a signal from the roof of the mosque, relayed from the mulla, the cannon was fired and the children roared their approval. "My gun," Hajji Mustafa boasted proudly, "can be heard in Erbil." The weapon is fired on each evening until the end of the month, and serves to indicate when the townspeople may break their fast. During the nights of Ramadan, there is much visiting and many banquets during the first few weeks. The shops are open late at night, and the streets are lighted with lanterns.

who suffer from guilty conscience. As a concession to the faith, the government elite forswear their drinking and gambling parties. Many persons suffer greatly in keeping the fast, and one may exchange greetings with a number whose throats were so parched by afternoon they could barely speak. The younger children and the ill, it might be noted, are not required to fast. The twenty-seventh evening of the month (Arabic, Laylat al-Qadir, "the Night of Power," in which the Prophet was first addressed by the Angel Gabriel) is marked by special prayers and devotional exercises.

The month of fasting is ended by the appearance of the new moon, and this night begins Jayjani Remezan (Arabic, 'Ayd al-saghir, "the Lesser Feast"), the festival which occupies the first three days of the tenth month (Shewwal). This is an occasion of the greatest festivity. Almost every family has purchased a sheep or a goat in advance, and these are slaughtered. Their flesh is used in banquets or given to the extremely poor. Everyone in the household puts on their finest attire, and the children receive new clothing and gifts. Presents of money and food are given by the wealthy to their servants and the poor. Family gatherings, accompanied by the largest and best meal the household can afford, take place, and there is public dancing.

The last festival of the Muslim year observed in Rowanduz is Jayjani Qurban (Arabic, 'Ayd al-kabir, "the Greater Feast") which begins on the tenth day of the

this prospered, I obtained a contract to furnish the army with fresh vegetables. I became thus a man of some wealth. 159 792 [443]

There was a man in Rowanduz who had great influence, Sayyid Mousai Effendi Zukriani. He begged me to become mukhtar, representative of the people to the government. Shakir Effendi here knows of this. He advised me not to do it, because I did not have great wealth. I did not listen and the qaimmaqam posted an order which appointed me mukhtar of the town. I caught Sayyid Ma'uf and pushed him into a narrow street. "Now I am master of Rowanduz," I told him. Everyone came to visit me, however, and I had to give them free food and clothing. I lost my money, and had to sell my horse, my pistol, and most of my wardrobe. Finally, I had to give up being mukhtar and Ma'uf Effendi was given the post again. [622] [574]

After this, I became sanitary inspector for the Baladiya, the municipality. I asked the qaimmaqam to give me full authority, and Rowanduz was never so clean. I hired a man to shout in the streets that by order of Mustafa Aziz any person who was found throwing rubbish or dirty water in the streets or who neglected to sweep in front of his house or who sold food with dirt in it should be fined. The fine was five dinars, a large sum. I also ordered that those selling food or kitchenwares should have their plates shine like silver. I gathered the butchers together and told them they must cover their meat with white gauze to keep off the flies. I secretly inspected the weights, and I found that many merchants were selling less than the proper measures. I covered the top of the stream which gives Rowanduz its water with barbed wire and forbade anyone to bathe in it. No person had the right to wash his feet or his dishes in it. When people saw me, they ran for miles. On my reports, the government collected 170 dinars from the people of Rowanduz, Kawlokan, and Dyana. My salary was not large, however, and no one appreciated what I was doing. People complained to the qaimmaqam about my fines and my orders, and I had to leave the post. [624] [687] [964]

Thus I left this job and went back to my old trade as a barber. You have seen my shop in the bazar and you know that I am the best barber in Rowanduz. I became a derwish and a khelifa (Arabic, "successor," presumably to the Prophet) by studying with some old men, and now I am a great teacher with students of my own. I teach them such things as cutting themselves without pain, piercing their limbs with skewers, and catching snakes. I make up poems and songs in Kurdish. My present duties are to prepare [305] [785] [787]

The buttermilk remaining, that is, whey mixed with water, is called *dūg*. It is a beverage inferior to *mahūn*, but is used daily as a thirst-quencher and a drink between meals. It is acidulous and very refreshing. In the villages it is kept in a leather receptacle similar to the churning sack and, like the latter, closed by a woollen cord around the neck; it is hung up in a shady spot, for example the gate of the courtyard, to cool.

For the cooling of *mahūn* in Sulaimani *chemps* of snow, kept in pits in the mountains, are used. In the summer this is brought down to the town and sold in the market[28]. In the villages the drink is offered to guests in a common bowl and drunk with the help of a big, carved wooden ladle, *kawlā*[29], (fig. 22[30], about 0.30 cm. long, of which 0.12 m. is a deep scoop with flat, perforated handle. *Dūg* can be cooked with whole grains of wheat into a porridge, whereafter the liquid is allowed to drain away by spreading the mass over a coarse woollen sack. This mass, stored in a leather sack, can be kept for the winter (seen at Balkha).

The making of tea. In the part of Kurdistan in which I stayed coffee was not drunk. A copper *cafetyeh*, tinned outside and inside, with a beak-like lip and lid and handle of brass 0.19 m. high (fig. 227[31], was bought in a second-hand shop in the *sūq* in Sulaimani; it was a foreign (Arab) element which I never saw in use. At certain intervals along the highroads were a *chaykhāna*, a tea house, where one could stop and be served with tea, *chay*. The making of tea in the home will be dealt with apart from ordinary cooking, as tea besides being a necessary refreshing beverage with which meals ended, being made separately for these occasions, is also offered to guests[32], and in the evening constitutes both a stimulant and entertainment. The preparation and serving of tea conforms to a definite pattern.

As a rule one particular woman in the house attends to the making of tea, sitting cross-legged on a small sheep skin, straw mat or felt rug, *bādāl*, (fig. 229) about 1.50 × 0.75 m. In front and around her within reach she has all the requisites for preparation and serving. The chief object is the jar-shaped *samōwar* of pewter or brass[33] standing on low legs and filled with water. A huge pair of pincers is used to fill the cylindrical interior with glowing embers from the earth oven, from the cookhouse, or with charcoal heated on a flat, rectangular iron basin with short legs. At the base of the samowar's interior is a grid. A small chimney is placed on the top of the samowar and it remains there until the water boils, when it is replaced by a small china teapot, in which, with the help of the boiling water, a relatively small quantity of very strong tea is brewed, sufficient, however, to form the basis for the innumerable glasses of tea to be served in an unending sequence to those present. At the side of the samowar a stand for tea glasses about 8 cm. high with appurtenant flowered saucers and spoons[34] lie in a tin bowl. The glasses and saucers were purchased in the *sūq* in packages of 12, and were said to have been imported from Czechoslovakia. These small glasses are half-filled with tea from the teapot and then filled up with boiling water from the top of the samowar, each glass being sweetened with granulated sugar (equivalent to 2 lumps of sugar) from a tin, or with loaf sugar broken into pieces in a cloth by a special sugar hammer[35]. A bowl with these lumps of sugar is also passed round[36]. The tea glass, saucer and spoon are rinsed in a bowl with boiling water every time they are to be used. When a tea glass is empty, it is fetched and a fresh one brought until one places the glass down on the saucer as a sign that no more is desired.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

WOMAN'S POSSIBILLITY OF MOVEMENT AND SECLUSION

Possibility of movement or greater or lesser degree of seclusion. In the village aristocracy both the married and unmarried women left the area of the home but seldom. As an exception they could be the most distinguished guests at a village wedding. Here they remained in the women's group, strictly segregated from the men. There was no family in the village of equal birth on which they could pay calls. In this respect the women of the village aristocracy held a position similar to that of a lady of a royal family. Their domain comprised the rooms off the courtyard in which the house-work was performed and the roof. They could enter the guest house in order to clean, and could receive female guests there when the men were absent. Their area also extended to the kitchen garden and orchard if such existed in the neighbourhood of the home. On one occasion in Topzawa the wife and daughter in the sheikh's house extended their radius of action to the vineyard up in the mountains in order to pluck fresh vine leaves for culinary purposes. The wife of the house, but not the daughter, went on a family visit to Sulaimani. Both women, with the sheikh and his brother, paid a call, by car, on an Iraqi engineer working with European colleagues on the Dokan Dam Site. This man lived in a stone house similar to those inhabited by Europeans. During the visit the women remained to themselves in the bedroom of the house, which that day acted as the harem, the women eating, drinking tea, and sleeping there in the afternoon.

In the village of Serkan the lady of the house and the wives of the sons received my interpreter and me in the newly-built, detached guest house, which that day had been left to the women as a reception room. At the same time the men of the house were holding a meeting with the government representative of the Land Settlement Commission and a large number of peasants. For this male meeting a temporary open-air guest house had been arranged under some high trees near a spring behind the sheikh's property. Here the men took their meals, conducted their negotiations and spent the night on mattresses rolled out on the ground. During the morning, the representative of the Land Settlement Commission approached the women's apartments in order that I, as a European, could be introduced to his assistants. At the sight of this elderly man entering the women's apartments, the wife and daughters-in-law of the house sprang to their feet and fled as though for an outbreak of fire, assisted by a young husband present, over a narrow passage into a small store room. Similarly, although it had been decided, the lady of the house later cancelled a planned tour of the garden on the ground that there was a faint possibility of the men's party above mentioned being able to catch a glimpse of her face.

A proposal that the daughter of the sheikh at Topzawa should accompany my interpreter, her 13 year old brother and me in a hired car and later cross the mountains by mule on a two-day visit to her own paternal uncle at Sergalu, was bluntly refused by the girl's father. The escort proposed was not considered adequate. Thus what we understand by seclusion was practised within the village aristocracy. Married women seldom left their homes, young girls practically never, and none of them must allow themselves to be seen by male strangers.

In the meantime the following categories of men were permitted access to the family house within the village aristocracy: Firstly, and naturally, the men of the family, the husband, brother-in-law,

4: Hansen E-S (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

As regards being restricted geographically there was no seclusion for educated urban women, though in its "transportable" form seclusion existed, for the wearing of over-garment and veil was obligatory. Just as the geographical form of seclusion applying to the women of the village aristocracy was elastic, certain categories of males outside the immediate family circle being admitted to the women's domain, so also was the "transportable" seclusion, for the degree of veiling depended upon the man meeting the woman. If the man was a stranger, say the post-office clerk, bank teller, or bus driver, complete veiling was maintained. The men on their side accepted it as perfectly natural that women whom they served or bargained with were completely anonymous and, apart from the voice, unidentifiable. Before superiors, for example the educational authorities or officials like the mayor of the town, my interpreter pushed back her veil though at the same time holding the front edge of the over-garment which goes over the head, so closely together that only a small part of her face was visible. This was the case on more official visits, but also on ordinary visits the tightly-drawn *abā* and the pushed-back veil were relaxed. This I saw on a visit to Shaikh Mahmud's son. On this occasion my interpreter had decked herself out in all the finest articles of clothing and jewellery the women of her family could together produce. During the visit not the slightest glimpse of all this magnificence was disclosed. Perhaps this was due to the fact that, in addition to us, two male agricultural experts were present, who seemed to have come to discuss questions in connexion with the rice harvest that year.

When dealing with traders in the *sūq*, for example in the cloth booths in the vaulted arcades, the women also pushed back their veils. Here they apparently faced men in a position subordinate to them, and could allow themselves to show a small expanse of face through the closely-held *abā*.

In the Sulaimani cinemas, both the roofed and the roofless, it would have been quite unthinkable for the women, even though closely veiled, to sit in the ordinary seats. The men sat there. For the women and the men of their family who accompanied them there were boxes with special entrances and a curtain. This curtain was not drawn aside until the theatre was dark, and was again drawn at the interval. Men in the audience must not obtain a glimpse of the women in the box.

In her outside life and during work the educated urban woman came into contact with the men's world. Sympathy between two young people might be aroused and a marriage based on personal contact and sentiment could result. However, there was no direct proposal on the part of the young man. The obligatory procedure was marriage negotiations between the women of the two families, followed by the matter being placed before the father for decision (see p. 119). Whereas the work of an educated urban woman provided her with a radius of action far outside the boundaries of the home, in non-working hours she was to be found in the precincts of the home. In leisure hours there were no mixed groups of men and women. Men, on the other hand, spent their free time in the streets or in tea houses in company with other men. Here again there was a strict division between the worlds of men and women.

Thus, like her humble village sister, the educated urban woman possessed a freedom of movement that extended just so far as, but no further than, her work outside the home justified, but, as opposed to the village woman, the educated urban woman practised a transportable seclusion in the form of *abā* and veil. This, like the seclusion of the aristocratic village woman, possessed a certain elasticity in regard to certain male categories.

562 In none of the three female environments so far considered was the idea of liberty understood in the same way as it is in the West.

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562 In the fourth and last female environment, the uneducated urban milieu, the veiling was obligatory.
369 As opposed to their educated sisters the uneducated also maintained seclusion. Nothing in their daily
591 activities brought them into contact with the men's world. Household purchases were attended to by the husband. I was also told that goods connected with dress were hawked from house to house by women. However, women's sealed-off world was not confined to the home, for all women's apartments in the town were in contact with each other. A stream of female visitors entered the home, the women of which frequently visited other homes. Under cover of transportable seclusion there was considerable freedom within the urban women's world. In consequence, uneducated women in towns obtained an opportunity of contact that lay on a quite different social plane from that applying to the three other feminine milieus. Among humble village women the same possibility naturally applied. Here, however, it took place just as much at watering and washing places, etc., less in the homes. In the uneducated feminine milieu in Kurdistan, subjected to the veil and seclusion, a decisive barrier existed between the men's and women's worlds, not only in leisure but also in working hours.

591 For a man married to one or two wives in the uneducated women's milieu in a town like Sulaimani,
595 one found what Ekrem[2] describes as typical of a Turkish home: "for an Oriental his home is the place where his wife and children are, and where he eats his meals and spends the night ... his real home is either his shop or his favourite café, where he meets the people whose company constitutes his spiritual content ...".

562 In the uneducated feminine environment in Sulaimani as represented by my interpreter's home,
852 with its two wives whose sphere of work fell within the framework of the home, the actual place of work could, exceptionally, be moved to the female area of another home. When baking a larger supply of bread, the dough for which was prepared by an outside woman who arrived at dawn, the two housewives later in the morning transferred the actual operations to the house of a neighbour. Here there was a modern, jar-shaped clay oven that could be used by several women simultaneously. This was more effective than the coarser iron sheet laid over the fire that sufficed for daily needs.

572 Visits and return visits constituted the social contact with the outside world. In my experience the
574 educated women in the home only made purchases in the sky and then only of material, sweet, of
443 meat and vegetables. As mentioned, the daily household purchases were made by the husband and delivered by small boys, of whom there were swarms, who in this way contributed towards their keep. That women did not shop at the meat and vegetable stalls was not considered as any form of oppression, in fact my impression was precisely the same as Woodsmall's, who writes: "... as a rule the conservative Moslem woman in the past did not do her own shopping ... For the women of the past, their lack of freedom for personal shopping was doubtless not regarded as an infringement on their liberty but a convenience"[3].

562 An investigation as to which men beyond the immediate family circle had access to the homes of
463 uneducated urban women disclosed that certain traders or artisans were admitted. A [illegible] up-

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

562 not "free", being subjected to an absolutely-practised seclusion. Nor were they free to choose their
593 spouse, but for that matter the men were here in no better case: both were subject to the decision of the family.

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565 As mentioned earlier, women's radius of action in the humble village milieu extended over the
572 whole place, and consequently they had far greater freedom of movement than their aristocratic village
462 sisters. On the other hand, so far as I could see, they were not so much the equals of their husbands were their social superiors. Very heavy labours rested on their shoulders, work that kept them engaged from dawn until late in the evening: fetching water and fuel from afar, milking in the mountains, ploughing and harvesting, work in the fruit plantations. Within this environment one can say that there was a lack of equality and a distribution of authority in favour of the men, mainly because the uneven sharing of the work put the woman in an inferior position.

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562 In regard to the educated urban milieu in homes where both husband and wife were educated, a
369 freedom of movement corresponding to that of humble village women existed in the case of the wife, that is to say as much as, but no more than, her work outside the home necessitated.

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562 Within the uneducated urban milieu there was no possibility of movement outside the home in
369 connexion with work, and liberty of movement resulting from social activities, and the daily visits
387 between women, was concealed by veil and over-garment. Within the home the husband had the say
593 in regard to the persons entering and leaving this house. In my interpreter's home where the two wives belonged to the uneducated milieu, the husband forbad the summoning of a doctor during the influenza epidemic in the summer of 1957, and refused to allow several patients in the family being taken by cab to a doctor or hospital. It is difficult to say how strictly this injunction would have been respected had one of the patients been seriously ill.

574 During *qarhān hairām* the husband permitted his younger wife, accompanied by an adult stepson,
593 two of the adolescent daughters and a baby, to pay a family visit to Halabja. The wife extended the
574 visit by several days on her own initiative, the party proceeding with a hired car to another branch of the family. On the wife's return she was violently reproached for this by her husband. How weak a husband's position can be in a polygamous home with adult daughters was on this occasion demonstrated. Faced by a united feminine front of two wives and five daughters, and the visible and invisible aid from neighbouring homes, he was forced to beat an unconditional retreat. As Cuntier says about conditions in a Muslim home of this kind: "L'homme a contre soi toutes les femmes de son harem, et toutes celles des harems voisins, et toutes celles de la ville ... coalition effarouchante, aveuglante et implacable", and goes on to say: "... Cet affreux tyran, le maître du harem, armé de pouvoir absolu et des droits les plus revoltants, c'est probablement le mari le plus trompé qui soit au monde ..."[7]. As I saw it, a woman belonging to the uneducated urban milieu, continually in contact with neighbouring women, was in a remarkably strong position, and the husband, despite his right of decision in many respects, in a correspondingly weaker one. On the other hand, when employing Western terminology, we must describe her seclusion as a manifestation of a state of bondage.

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

ties that may be discerned. The village, in all its confusion, sets the 621
scene on which the competing factions act out their parts; over faintly glowing fires of cowdung individuals are discussed and appraised in terms of the ideals expressed in the above outlined scales; control is attempted and leadership emerges. All these activities take place at more or less standardized occasions — and it is these occasions that will be described in the present chapter. In effect, any type of community or group activity gives an opportunity for status and competition to express itself, and a description of these occasions thus becomes virtually a description of community life.

INFORMAL GROUP FORMATION

Claudius James Rich, visiting Suleimani in the 1820's, was sur- 574 •
prised at the regularities of the patterns of visiting, at the large groups that would congregate in the house of some «noblemen» or in the open, and spend their time smoking and drinking tea, while talking way into the small hours (Rich, op. cit.). This pattern is also found strongly developed in Suleimani today.

In the village, the farmer must of course keep rather different hours, and he invariably rises with the sun; but the same pattern is discernable. In the summer nights, visitors may be received on the rooftops; in the daytime, or when the weather is colder, any important visitor is showed to a special room, and a more or less standard group will quickly congregate. In the hot weather, other kinds of groups will congregate during the day in any bit of shade — under the trees by the pool, or on the roof-tops that are shaded by trees. These informal groups seem essentially of two types, one the group of village leaders in «the smokefilled room» to borrow an idiom from American politics, the other a less clearly defined «rooftop society» of persons of lower status.

«*The smokefilled room*». In the traditional tribal system, the 574
Agha of the village should keep a *guesthouse*, in which the head 554
of families, all kinsmen of the *Agha*, and any visitor have a right to sit. In the area around Rowanduz, this seems to be an institution of

514 considerable economic importance, and a source of much prestige for
559 the hospitable *Agha* (Leach op. cit., pp. 28—33).

The practice in South Kurdish area differs somewhat from this ideal — it would be a very important man who went to the expence of keeping an «open house» in a special room; men of such importance and means are no longer found as residents in the villages. The typical *Agha* among the Hamawands will receive visitors in a small room, kept clean and reasonably empty for the purpose; the hospitality extended to the visitor is out of all proportion to the means of the host, but is not normally extended to all person who would have a «right» to sit in the guesthouse. Similarly, from being the common center of the village, to which all the important men repair, it has become in fact the center of only a faction in the village, though admittedly the most important one. This development is of course carried further in the non-tribal villages, where every man of any importance attempts to utilize a certain room as «guesthouse», playing the role of host and senior member among the individuals who normally congregate there.

517 No matter what time of day a visitor arrives, he would at least
516 be served tea. There is a formal pattern of etiquette attached to
564 this, which unfortunately for the visitor who tries to be polite varies
372] between different areas — some places, one is expected to leave after the third glass, other places they insist that the only polite thing is to drink seven or even eleven glasses in a sitting. The act of distributing of the tea gives an opportunity to express the prestige scale by the sequence in which people are served; also, in the presence of a visitor, everyone is careful to use the proper honorific titles to
[376] one another. All the time, cigarettes of dry Kurdish tobacco are smoked, the men crowd together in the half darkness and argue agitatedly, the fire smolders and smokes, and the atmosphere quickly becomes extremely heavy.

621 The persons assembling normally in «the smokefiled room»[1] are
554 the policy makers of the village or a main faction of it. In this forum, all matters of common interest are discussed, the actions of the various members of the group coordinated, and opinions and plans crystallized. Within the group, of course, relative prestige is

[1] 104 of the Agha's guest house. — [Analyst]

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MAll Kurd MAll

sacred powers of the derwish and the practical powers of the political leader; both are equally potent in the ritual situation, and their character may be covered best by the concept of personal charisma.

THE FEAST

The feast occupies a very prominent place in the communal life of the village, and is regarded as an active agent in producing solidarity and unity, as well as being a symbol of such unity. The fact of eating together in itself produces certain mutual obligations and solemnizes feelings of sympathy. The Bedouin ideal, that any person with whom you have eaten is inviolable for a minimum period of time, is not actually applied in Kurdish territory, but is well known and approved of as being highly ethical. Essentially similar, though less formal, obligations are implied in the Kurdish concept of sharing the bread.

Furthermore, the feast is a forum for conspicuous consumption, and thus gives the host an opportunity to display his wealth, and to create and re-affirm ties of friendship by generosity. Thus the person who gives the feast can enhance his prestige in the village considerably; hospitality is an integral aspect of the Kurdish ideal of a man, conversely, a person with a reputation for miserliness suffers corresponding loss of prestige.

A feast in one form or another is thus a fairly frequent occurrance in the village. Since it will involve at least a major part and usually the whole of the village, it provides one of the major occasions in which leadership and moderate rivalry is expressed, and in which the relative prestige and resultant total status positions become systematized. Essentially, these feasts are of two major types, (1) connected with religious festivals, or (2) marking transitions of status in the life cycle of members of the society.

Religious festivals. In some villages, the whole of the holy month of Ramadan is celebrated by regular communal evening meals at the mosque or in the village square. In this arrangement, either each household may in turn serve as hosts for the whole village, or each family brings its own food. Only the men partake in the meal; for them, it becomes a social occasion of major importance. The feast

takes place after sundown, since there should be a fast observed during the day in Ramadan month — as a matter of fact, this fast is observed by very few. However, this degree of Ramadan celebration is not usual. The last three days of that month, on the other hand, are universally regarded as holidays, and serve as formal occasion for forgiving enemies, affirming village loyalties, and reinforcing ties of friendship.

Ramadan is defined in terms of a year of lunar months, and thus falls some days earlier in relation to the seasons for every year. At the time of the present fieldwork, the end of Ramadan coincided roughly with the completion of the harvest; it is difficult to say which aspects of the proceedings were connected with the one, as distinct from the other event. The celebration on the main, first day consisted of four major phases: (1) religious service (2) formal communal meal (3) payment of tax to the mosque (4) informal social celebrations.

The religious service was led by the son of the mullah of the neighboring village, since the village in which I was staying at the time had no mullah of its own. It was held in the house of the *Hadji*, the actual leader and *kikhe* of the village. The local derwish, reacting to the presence of only an un-ordained officiator, tried to assert himself by interjecting loud and pious exclamations, but was soon quieted down as the mullah's son speeded on through the text.

After the ritual followed the communal meal, supplied by the *Hadji*, and his prestige profited by a subtle balance between the conspicuous exhibition of plenty tempered with a pious avoidance of over-indulgence. Two of the lower-class laborers, who had been figeting and feeling out of place, took the opportunity to busy themselves by serving the tea; but the *Hadji* insisted upon their status as guests, and they were quickly relieved by a young son, whom he called in for the purpose. Before the meal, hands were kissed (with a tendency towards reciprocity only between social equals or very close kin), misunderstandings forgotten and grudges forgiven. After the meal, some small boys appeared and kissed the hands of all the men present.

This being completed, the heads of village households each pledged

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

in the village as a whole[1]). Any conspicuous excesses in celebration are however tempered by pious ideals of moderation.

To summarize: the *feast*, in its various religious and personal applications, offers a forum for competition and rivalry between persons, especially in the field of wealth, but this aspect is somewhat tempered by ideals of moderation and control inherent in the other scales by which individuals are evaluated. Furthermore, these communal or semi-communal occasions formalize the relative prestige positions of individuals, as seen by other individuals, and by the group as a whole. These prestige hierarchies find expression especially in situations where a regular order of serving or acting is observed. When all the tea comes out of the host's one samovar, individuals must necessarily be served in a sequence. In Kurdish culture, as in most other cultures, the *first* position in a sequence, and in fact precedence in general, is regarded as symbolic of status. These occasions thus necessarily come to express a status hierarchy, and that in a familiar context where the symbolism is clear and rivalry for relative places conscious. In seating, in serving, and in any sequence of appearance, this rule is followed. In the fluid type of hierarchy found in the Kurdish villages, where status positions are not crystallized in a formal structure, but are constantly being re-evaluated in terms, in the final instance, of the common denominator of *power*, it is essential that some mechanism is found whereby relative status and power can be compared and made public by non-violent means. Characteristically, practically all the major communal occasions in the villages of Southern Kurdistan involve several instances where this hierarchy can become expressed.

RAIDING AND WARFARE

The final and most spectacular occasion for the emergence of leadership and the expression of a status hierarchy is offered by the

[1]) This ritual slaughter of animals has a general significance as a sign of respect — when an important visitor arrives, the throat of a sheep is cut just before the visitor approaches, so that the blood may flow across the road just as he passes over.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MAll Kurd MAll
Rowanduz

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CHAPTER 5

The Guest House

622 So far we have been mainly concerned with describing the relative social positions of the different individuals that go to make up the Kurdish tribal community. It is now necessary to consider these same relationships on an institutional plane and to examine more specifically the economic context in which they operate.

I have defined the position of the village Agha in functional terms as (a) the individual who 'owns' the land and who receives rent by virtue of that title and (b) the individual responsible for the upkeep of the Guest House. We must now examine this definition more carefully.

• 619 622 559 It is a cardinal feature of Kurdish custom that the stranger, whatever his rank and position, is entitled to free board and lodging at the expense of the Agha. The more lavish the Agha's hospitality the greater the esteem of his fellows; so much so that the prestige a man gains by virtue of being a good and generous host may in terms of reputation fully discount disadvantages of birth. Hamid Amin Agha of Rengursan for example though only a poor man and a fairly distant cousin of the ruling chief of his clan has a tremendous reputation throughout the district simply on account of his hospitality. On all sides it was maintained that he was much more of a man (piao - the Kurdish idiom is the same as our own) than his nominal overlord Sheikh Mohammed Agha of Balash. If Hamid Amin was not so generous, it was argued, he also would be rich and powerful: "Sheikh Mohammed was miserly and an old woman. It must be admitted that a more reputation for generosity may not bring with it any particular tangible reward in the form of economic advantage or practical influence. But the pattern of the society is such that this form of reputation is esteemed above all others, and it is in the light of this set of values that the institution of the Guest House must be considered.

344 679 358 In the Balik country the Guest House is seldom actually a house. Winter travellers are few and can be accommodated if necessary somewhere in the Agha's own residence; during the summer on the other hand a shady pergola is erected somewhere close to the Agha's house and furnished with carpets, mats and cushions. It is here that the traveller is expected to take his meals and sleep.

• This incidentally seems to have been Sheikh Mohammed's reputation throughout his life: see May p. 253.

† In the plains villages however the great heat of the summer and the greater frequency of winter travellers necessitates a permanent building for the Guest House. For description see May 47 - 49.

Among semi-nomadic groups such as the Shevdini who spend their summer in black tents the 'Guest House' is a portion of the Aghas tent specially partitioned off for the purpose. This corresponds to Arab Bedouin usage. The Agha himself spends much of his day in and about the Guest House and directly supervises the ordering of the meals which he suitably adjusts according to the dignity of his visitor. The actual preparation of the meals is in the hands of the womenfolk, but properly speaking these should never themselves appear in the Guest House. If the visitor has any social eminence the Agha will either sleep in the Guest House himself as a kind of protection, or else deputs one of his sons to do so. 574 574 621

But what concerns us here is not so much the description of the Guest House as such, but rather its economic and social significance. 574 421

The hospitality offered is free and theoretically unlimited, but in practice any individual of low rank who overstayed his welcome could soon be made conscious of the fact. For those of higher status custom dictates that the visitor should offer his host a substantial gift immediately after the preliminary introductions. I have no information as to the scale of such presents in normal Kurdish usage. In my own case since I was anxious to establish my good name with all concerned, both gifts and hospitality received were probably on an exaggerated scale. I had to rely upon the advice of my interpreter for the quality and quantity of the goods I offered. In kind they included sugar, tea, coffee, cloth, matches, soap and cigarette paper, much the most important item being sugar. The quantities varied according to the length of my intended stay and the eminence of my host. Thus Sheikh Mohammed of Palash received proportionately more than his nominal vassal Hamid Amin of Banpurian. In exchange my board and lodging together with that of my interpreter cost me a sack of sugar (56 Kilos) a week.

The Expenditure of the Agha

The procedure raises the interesting question as to whether or not it is profitable to run a Guest House. From the Kurdish viewpoint the Guest House represents an enormous drain upon the Agha's resources, but this attitude is to be expected since the more the Agha can persuade his neighbours that he is being made bankrupt by the lavishness of his hospitality the greater will be his reputation. Sheikh Mohammed Agha of Palash for instance was particularly insistent that his Guest House was bringing him to the edge of ruin, and I questioned him closely on the matter. I noted that while he included under Guest House expenditure a variety of items that were purely personal; in reckoning income he took no account at all of gifts received. To take an example he complained that for the upkeep of his Guest House he was having to feed thirty people and kill at least a kid a day. On trying to discover how he had arrived at this figure 574 586 622

of thirty persons I reached the conclusion that it was made up as follows:-

1	The Agha himself
1	Wife
3	Sons
4	Daughters
7	Maidservants } Mostly kinsfolk of some sort
4	Manservants }
1	Mulla
1	Brother
5	Guests
3	By exaggeration
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In fact it became quite clear that he lumped together all household expenditure as "the expense of the Guest House", though in fact his expenditure on the guests represented only a small fraction of the total.

Moreover the really expensive item in Guest House upkeep is not the killing of a kid a day, but the cost of sugar, tea and coffee: especially sugar. During the last fifty years or so the Russian style of tea drinking has become fashionable throughout Khoistan. The tea is brewed very strong over samovars and served with enormous quantities of lump sugar. The samovar is brought into operation as soon as the guest arrives and tea is served at persistent intervals until he goes away again. Owing to the high import duties and costs of transport, sugar costs about 45/- a bag (of 36 Kilos); and I was told that a bag would last a Guest House such as that of Bergala about a month provided there were no special occasions such as weddings and funerals to be allowed for. If this figure is anywhere near accurate it implies an expenditure of some £27 per annum on sugar alone, which, considering the limited facilities available for obtaining ready cash, is a very substantial sum indeed. Actually the situation must be radically affected by the fact that, as noted above, the guest gives presents to his host. As might be expected the gifts that are most acceptable and mostly frequently given are the luxury imports already mentioned - sugar, tea and coffee. I cannot then be certain whether, prestige considerations apart, it is an economic advantage or disadvantage for an Agha to have a large number of guests. Even funerals which involve a long period of polite 'social calls' continuing for over a month, and which certainly involve the Agha in heavy outgoings of rice and meat, may yet, it would appear, prove to be profitable in the long run.

On the other hand whatever may be the immediate relationship between the Guest House and the Aghas net income, the importance of Guest House expenditure in the economics of the group as a whole must

system demands that her price should be a high one. It would need a very intimate knowledge of all concerned to find out what real transactions take place within the village on the occasion of a marriage. Where the marriage is to someone outside the village the position is more clear, especially in the case of the Aghas, though here again there is a tendency to exaggerate the figures involved. A point of some interest is the frequency with which Aghas or their sons marry the daughters of townspeople. For instance a son of Sheikh Mohammed of Balash was married to a daughter of Mustafa Effendi, the leading notable of Rowanduz, and one of the wives of Mir Rashid Agha of Dergala was also a townswoman. Such marriages are socially approved of as it is considered that townswomen bring with them an air of culture and sophistication. The reciprocal marriage of Aghas daughter to townsman's son is however most unusual, mainly because the townsmen considers the tribal girl raw and uncivilised. The one sided nature of the transaction thus represents a further periodic cash loss to the tribal group without any compensating return.* It is not to be supposed that the bride price payment is the only economic transaction taking place on the occasion of a marriage. Near relatives on both sides send presents to the bridegroom; these may be in kind or cash and in the case of marriages between important Agha families may amount to substantial sums.

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Death. Compared with normal Kurdish usage the mourning ceremonies of the Hurds, at any rate for Aghas, are unusually prolonged. While I was staying at Balash the wife of Mustafa Agha, second son of Sheikh Mohammed, died. As Mustafa was the Agha of a neighbouring village I did not see the ceremonies involved. I was told that the proceedings consisted principally of the bereaved sitting at home in his Guest House and providing food and drink for all those friends and relatives who may think fit to come and condole with him. This would go on for a month. However it was reckoned that as Mustafa had only a small Guest House all his less immediate kin would have to be accommodated at Balash. I gathered that the mourners would bring with them gifts which would at least approximately compensate for the cost of entertaining them, but the immediate economic strain occasioned by a death such as this may be considerable. As soon as Sheikh Mohammed heard the news he sent off riders to Rowanduz to fetch four sacks of sugar (96 kilos each), two bags of rice and a big roll

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* Formerly it appears it was quite customary for commoners to sell their unwanted girl children to townsfolk. The girls were known as Kurdiye. During adolescence she was a slave servant of the purchaser but might be married off quite respectably when she grew up. The system appears to have much in common with the mui tsai system of South China.

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765 of cigarette papers. The scale of entertainment naturally varies
574 greatly with the status of the deceased; moreover the death of a male is
481 in every case far more serious than the death of a female. So far as I
am aware the ceremonial commiseration is similar in the case of
commoner families though on a smaller scale.*

The Mulla

793 The Mulla has his part to play in the ritual both on occasions
535 of marriage and death, and gains some appropriate reward. His interest
431 in the marriage ritual is on the decline. Government regulations now require that marriages must be registered with the police, and the marriage is legal without any religious ceremony. The tendency is therefore to give presents to the police rather than the Mulla.

* The above remarks do not apply at all to nomad tribes; I was told that among the Herki the whole ceremonial is concluded in one day. The procedure was said to contain much ritual of non-Moslem type.